

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 1063

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, OCON, CI
SUBJECT: SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF TRAVEL PLANS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS FROM AMBASSADOR

REF: SANTIAGO 1040

1. WITH FURTHER REFERENCE TO YOUR TEL 34074, HERewith SOME
SUBSTANTIVE VIEWS REGARDING YOUR TRIP AND THE SECRETARY'S,
AND A PROPOSED SCHEDULE FOR YOU.
2. AS YOU KNOW, CHILEANS ARE SO PREOCCUPIED WITH THEIR
OWN PROBLEMS OF SURVIVAL THAT MILITILATERAL AND REGIONAL
MATTERS ARE REGARDED AS SECONDARY IN IMPORTANCE
TO BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE US. THUS WE ESTIMATE,
ROUGHLY IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE, THAT THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS
WOULD BE OF INTEREST TO CHILEANS IN TALKING WITH BOTH YOU
AND THE SECRETARY: ARMS ASSISTANCE; THE PERUVIAN "THREAT;"
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE; HUMAN RIGHTS; AND INTER-AMERICAN PROBLEMS
INCLUDING CUBA, REVISION OF TRA, AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES
IN INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM.
3. CHILEANS WILL BE MOST INTERESTED IN YOUR VIEWS ON
ALL THE FOREGOING. THEY WILL BE MODERATE ON THE TRADE
ACT, AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE AT THE IA ECOSOC MEETING
(SHORT OF BEING ISOLATED) SINCE THEY ARE VERY CHARY OF
EFFORTS TO ALIGN THE HEMISPHERE REPUBLICS AGAINST THE
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UNITED STATES; AND GREATLY CONCERNED TO MINIMIZE CRITICISM

OF THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES AT THE OAS/GA.

4. AS YOU INDICATED, IN PREPARING FOR YOUR VISIT, YOU WILL WANT TO BEAR IN MIND THE SUBSTANTIVE PROSPECTS FOR THE SECRETARY'S EVENTUAL CONVERSATIONS HERE. I BELIEVE THE SECRETARY'S VISIT COULD BE STRUCTURED IN ONE OF TWO WAYS.

5. AS A MINIMUM OBJECTIVE, THERE COULD BE AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON MATTERS OF INTEREST TO BOTH SIDES. THIS WOULD ENTAIL A FULL EXPLANATION OF THE PURPOSE OF OUR POLICY OF DETENTE IN THE FACE OF THE CHILEANS' COLD WAR CONCERNS REGARDING "INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM;" A PLEA BY THE CHILEANS FOR UNDERSTANDING AND HELP ON ARMS AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND ON THE DANGER FROM PERU; COMMENTS ON THE STATUS OF THE "DIALOGUE;" AND SUCH ASSURANCES AS THE SECRETARY MIGHT PROVIDE ON THESE MATTERS.

6. IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO PLAN THE VISIT ON A DIFFERENT AND MORE CONCRETELY PRODUCTIVE BASIS. THE MAJOR BILATERAL TASK INVOLVING THE TWO COUNTRIES AT THIS MOMENT IS TO MODERATE US CONGRESSIONAL OPINION SUFFICIENTLY TO ARRANGE REMOVAL OF THE ARMS ASSISTANCE BAN AND TO PUT CHILE IN A POSITION TO RECEIVE THE ECONOMIC AID IT WILL NEED TO AVOID COLLAPSE IN THE PERIOD AHEAD. THIS IN TURN DEPENDS ON WHAT CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS WOULD REGARD AS SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA. CHILEAN LEADERS TEND TO EQUATE SUCH PROGRESS WITH THEIR OWN PROGRESS IN RELEASING DETAINEES, WITHOUT REGARD TO RESTORATION OF THOSE LEGAL AND PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS WHICH FOREIGN OPINION CONSIDERS SO IMPORTANT IN THIS PICTURE. IT WILL NOT BE EASY TO DEVELOP THEIR THINKING ALONG SUCH LINES.

7. WE CANNOT JUDGE FROM SANTIAGO HOW MUCH WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE TO APPEASE CHILE'S CRITICS IN CONGRESS. BUT POSSIBLY, DURING YOUR OWN VISIT, YOU COULD CLEAR THE DECKS FOR SOME INDICATIONS FROM THE CHILEANS, PRIOR TO THE SECRETARY'S ARRIVAL, THAT THEY INTENDED TO MOVE TOWARD EVENTUAL RESTORATION OF NORMAL CHILEAN LEGAL PRACTICES. THEY MIGHT THEN INAUGURATE AT ONCE SOME CONFIDENTIAL

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INITIAL STEPS IN THIS DIRECTION. THIS IN TURN MIGHT SET THE STAGE FOR THE SECRETARY WHEN HERE TO BE ABLE TO ANNOUNCE SOME MODIFICATION OF CURRENT US POLICIES REGARDING ARMS AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT SUCH A SCENARIO, IF PRACTICABLE, WOULD BE VERY VALUABLE, ALTHOUGH I REALIZE THAT THE SHORT TIME FACTOR MAY MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO GO ALL THE WAY.

8. ON INTER-AMERICAN AND MULTILATERAL ISSUES, THERE SHOULD BE LITTLE OR NO PROBLEM WITH THE CHILEANS. THEY WANT TO BE AS HELPFUL TO US AS THEY CAN, AND WITHIN BROAD LIMITS THEIR INTERESTS WILL BE VERY SIMILARY TO OUR OWN. MOREOVER, AS OF NOW THERE WOULD BE NO RUDE NOISES, ON STAGE OR OFF, TO DISTURB EITHER YOUR VISIT OR THE SECRETARY'S. ON THE CONTRARY, THE HOSPITALITY COULD BE RATHER OVERPOWERING.

9. AS NOTED REFTTEL, I HOPE YOU WILL BE ABLE TO OVERNIGHT WITH US. NEVERTHELESS, ASSUMING SLIGHTLY LESS THAN A WORKING DAY HERE, WE CONSIDER FOLLOWING TO BE MINIMUM OF PEOPLE WHOM YOU SHOULD SEE:

(A) PRESIDENT PINOCHET OR OTHER JUNTA MEMBER;
(B) MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ECONOMIC COORDINATION, ECONOMY AND FINANCE, OR ALTERNATES;
(C) FOREIGN MINISTRY POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ADVISORS BERNSTEIN AND CLARO AND DIRECTOR NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS, TESSARA.

PERSONS IN (B) AND (C) ABOVE ARE THOSE YOU NEED TO MEET TO COVER THE THREE SPECIFIC SUBJECTS ON WHICH YOU WISH AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. WE CAN HANDLE THEM ALL IN ONE WORKING LUNCHEON OR DINNER AT THE RESIDENCE. CALLS COULD BE LIMITED TO A COURTESY CALL ON FONMIN AND A SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION AT THE JUNTA LEVEL. THE CHILEANS OF COURSE WILL RAISE PROSPECTS FOR ARMS ASSISTANCE AND, IF TIME PERMITS, YOU MAY WISH TO CALL ON MINISTER OF DEFENSE BONILLA. WE ASSUME YOUR TRIP WILL BECOME KNOWN AND GENERATE GREAT LOCAL MEDIA INTEREST. IF TIME PERMITS, A BRIEF SESSION WITH LOCAL MEDIA REPS WOULD BE DESIRABLE.

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10. WE SHALL FLESH OUT A SCHEDULE FOR YOU AS SOON AS WE HAVE YOUR TRAVEL PLANS.
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